631 segments of an organization. It seems that in pre-
[721] Turkish times there was a tendency for contiguous
631 settlements to combine for war against other settle-
619 ments or under the leadership of an outstanding
personality, but such combinations were not
permanent, or even consistent enough for us to
[77 speak of them as political groups. The Turkish
648] Administration tried to give greater consistency to
them so that they could be used as administrative
units, and the Anglo-Egyptian Government has
done the same and calls them divisions and appoints
a chief for each. Previously they appear to have
been little more than districts or localities, and the
only chiefs between the king and the chiefs of
settlements were those of Ger, northern Shilluk-
land, and Luak, southern Shillukland, whose
functions had, as we shall see, a ritual rather than
an administrative character, and those of Muomo
and Tonga, the settlements which are the northern
and southern marches of Shillukland, whose
functions were also partly ritual. In Shilluk
speech Muomo and Tonga correspond exactly,
Professor Westermann tells us, to the expression of
631 the ancient Hebrews: from Dan unto Beersheba.[1]

[1] Diedrich Westermann, *The Shilluk People. Their Language and Folklore* (1912), p. xx.

1:Evans-Pritchard E-4 (no date) 1948
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

monarchy'.[1] Mr Pumphrey says that in the old days 'justice was probably rough and large-scale fighting more prevalent than litigation'.[2] Indeed, feuds appear to have been rampant in the past, and it is not very clear how they were composed. We are told that major disputes were sometimes brought before the king, but he can hardly be said to have tried such cases. If he intervened at all it was to support partially one side to a quarrel. We are told that when a settlement waged 'unjustifiable' war on another or refused persistently to listen to the king he might raise a 'royal levy' from the adjacent settlements and with this force and his own retainers raid the recalcitrants, seizing their cattle and burning their homesteads. He kept some of the cattle for himself and the rest were taken by those who supported his action. The raiding force would generally be strong enough to discourage resistance.[3] Compensation for injury seems, therefore, to have been obtained by self-help, sometimes backed by royal intervention. Without confirmation I am not inclined to accept Father Hofmayr's statement that compensation for homicide was

[1] Howell, *op. cit.* p. 57; P. P. Howell and W. P. G. Thomson, 'The Death of a Reth of the Shilluk and the Installation of his Successor', *S.N. and R.* (1946), p. 8.

[2] *Op. cit.* p. 19.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 12.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

767 Mr. Henry, whom we consulted, holds that there is little difference
768 between the worship of ancestors, and that of former kings. A
supplicant would visit a royal shrine if there happened to be one near,
and might afterwards resort to the grave of an ancestor. If no royal
shrine were near he would immediately resort to an ancestor shrine,
brushing away sticks, dirt, etc., with his hands, and offer a prayer to the
ancestor. When for sickness a sheep is offered at the grave of an
ancestor, an ear is severed, indicating that the sheep belongs to that
ancestor and is ever afterwards sacred. Such sacred animals are
handed over to some aged attendant of the shrine; their milk is
never mixed with the milk of other animals, but is kept for the small
children and the very aged, who come to the attendant's house to
drink. The animals are never sold, and for each as it gets old one
of its offspring is substituted. Such prayer and sacrifice may be
offered in any serious difficulty, in sickness, before a perilous journey,
or when greatly perplexed in any matter.

782 Human sacrifice was always rare among the Shilluk, but it
undoubtedly occurred. There is a legend, likely we think to be
truthful, that the shrine at Fenikang was originally confined with
human sacrifice, and the idea exists that each time this shrine is
rebuilt someone will die. We have already referred to the ceremonial
and fatal trampling underfoot of an old man (p. 91), by the king-
elect and the people, and to the ceremonial drowning of a man and
781 woman (p. 91). But besides these ceremonies more or less secret
787 sacrifices might take place as a last resort to obtain rain—the usual
443 prayers and offerings having failed—and for success in war.
[541] According to Hofmayr, who gives texts with literal translations,

● deceased, the right ear is cut from the sheep, and tied to the ankle of the person making the offering, and the wounded ear is washed in a gourd of water . . . and then the water is poured on the grave, and part of it is thrown in the eye of the sun. . . . It is for God . . . The prayer is offered before the ear is cut off. If the sun offers, prayer is made to God and the deceased, and then the sheep is killed as soon as . . . [the sheep screams]. The sheep is not open, and the contents of the stomach and bowels are thrown on the house of the sufferer, and then the meat is cooked. The meat cannot be tasted until the eldest living wife of the deceased takes some of the soup in a small gourd, which is covered with a small native mat, and pours it on the grave. . . .

"While there is no set form for the prayer . . . yet they are all very similar, and the following is an example:—

[539] "We praise you, you, who are God, it was you, who gave me my father, who begot me. I pray to you also my father. Why did you go to the earth and keep silence? Was not this your house before? When evil comes to your house, why do you not pray to God? Your house is given as a plaything to the people. You went to the presence of God, and we thought that nothing evil would befall us again, after you left. Now help, God. Why do you leave the responsibility of saving on God alone? God's spirit becomes tired (from work), and he leaves people and they die. Why do you not see and save us? You went to the ground, and you have forgotten that a person from another house does not guard yours." (Op. cit., 184-5.)

3:Westermann E-6 (1910) 1912 F223 Shilluk F223

bank. Then the milk is poured into the river, and a club is stuck into the ground in the river. The sorcerer goes into the river, and says, "Bring the cattle!" Now the sailmark boats are thrown into the river, and the sorcerer lies down in the middle of the river. The cattle swim (behind the boats). The sorcerer sings a song of the crocodile; the crocodiles belong to his family (to the family, the clan of the sorcerer).

When they have arrived on the other side, an enclosure is erected, and the cows are tied to their pegs. Then another sorcerer is called, and he performs his witchery on account of thieves (to keep off thieves). The cattle are calmed, a cow-house is built, and that is all, the people settle in this place, a place with grass.

66. Preparation for War.

Lôk kpa á chîjîcî, nînwîjî nî de dwôl, bá gîlô gîn, ka e kîpu, ka thîyâ gwôch, ka tyá gwôch, ka gwá kîpu, bá ichîjî kîl. Ka tyá wôlu gîn, ka tyá chîyâ wôlu gîn; ka chîjî twôchá nî. Ka gwá e kîpu, ka kpâlo yâ ichîjî; ichîyu yu wôl, e twajîc kwîjî tyá. Nînwî wôlî yî chîjî, ka nî chîjî wôl, ka nîmo a nî wôch nî chîjî wôl. Ka jî chîjîc bî dîlôch. Ka tîn, ka gwá bîl[1]: fîjîn fîn. Ka ameyâ kwôlu, ka tâjîcî fîn, ka pyîjî kôl, ka wajîc dîl, ka wôt dîl wâch, ka nî lîk kpâlo jî. Ka wôch ameyâ ka kwôlá yâ nînwîjwî, ka nî lîk fîjîc gwá bî nîmo yôlî. [2] yâ wôchu ameyâ a wâcu kwôlu fîjîc gwá, ka yâ kîpu: fîjîc gwá de chîyâlîjî, kwaj[3] nînwîjwî. [2] yâ wôchu ameyâ a wâcu kwa wôl kîn, yâ kîpu: kwa wach! Ka nînwîjwî e dîlô dîlô, ka gwôl dîlô, ka lîlô, ka wajîcu chîyâlî dîlô, ka nînwîjwî kwâlu, ka ameyâ wajîcu dîlô, ka wâlî, ka wajîc chîyâlî (chîyâlî) wâlî, bî kîjî yâ nînwîjwî gwá, ka e ka: dîjîch! Dîwôl tîjîcu kîpu! Ka tîjîcu kîpu. Ka wôlî kwôlwôl, ka yu tîjîcî wî tîjîcu. Ka e kwâlu. Ka wôch nînwîjwî ka a kwôlwî fîn. Ka yâ gîlô, bî yâ tîjîcî wî tîjîcu.

When a hostile army comes near, the sorcerer is sent for, and cows are bestowed (are given to him), and when he comes, goats and spears are collected (and given him). Then the people come; a rope is made, and a spear is stuck into the ground; the rope is fastened to its top; now the people come, and pass below the rope. The rope is above, it is tied to the point of the spear. The man who is touched by the rope (in passing below it), is placed separately. (All these do not go into the war, because they would be killed). Thus the people walk (below the rope) a long time, till all have passed. Presently the sorcerer says to the people, "Sit down!" A he-goat is brought, and is thrown on the ground. It is cut up, and its head is cut off; the contents of its stomach are taken out, and are thrown among the people; the head of the he-goat is taken by the sorcerer, and thrown towards the hostile country, in the face of the assembled people. If the head of the he-goat points in the direction of the country of the

[1] K.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

enemy, it is said: "The country (of the enemy) will be defeated;" that is the talk of the sorcerer. But if the head of the he-goat points towards their own army, they say, "It is a bad war!" In this case the sorcerer makes his witchery once more, grass is brought, and is tied on a rope, and after that it is tied again; then the sorcerer goes to bring another he-goat, it is killed, and its head is again thrown, and when the sorcerer sees (that it is in the right direction now), he says, "All right! Let all the people come!" The people come, the contents of the stomach are taken, and are thrown on the bodies of the people. Then the sorcerer goes. The head of the he-goat is buried in the ground; and water is put on the fire, and sprinkled on the people.

Now the army goes to fight. And people are killed, the army is defeated. The people come and bury their dead. Then they remain (in arms). Another sorcerer is sent for; cattle are given to him. And he works (his witchery), he is a most powerful sorcerer. When he has finished his doings, the army goes to fight again. Now they defeat the enemies and kill many people; after that they come and return home; they are satisfied. The people go to the king, a royal ambassador is called (and sent to the chief of the enemies), the people make amends for the men they have killed, they pay twenty cows; they go to loosen them, then they return home, and sit down.[1]

[1] After a war (among different Shilluk tribes) each army makes amends to the hostile tribe for the people that have been killed; those amends consist in a number of cattle.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

*539 the man of Adokong,[1] and the king said, "Ah!" Then came the man of Ningure, he said: "Well, bring water!" And water was brought. He washed himself, he washed his hands (as a preparation for eating food); then he took the beans out and ate them. Nyadwai said, "Kill all the other witch-doctors!" And they were killed.

In the time of the reigning of king Yo, some Dinka man whose name was Longyang, came into the Shilluk country, and lived there. He was a sorcerer. Towards the end of his reigning Yo ordered the sorcerer to be brought, and
•[721] he killed him (on account of his sorcery). On that a war arose with the Dinkas, and they fought at Tonga; Tonga was destroyed. Then the king said, "The whole army shall go!" And the Dinkas ran away.

69. The Vision of the Sorcerer.

787 There was a certain man whose name was Wet Kwa Okat, he was also called
*539 Agwurstyep, a very strong man; he was a sorcerer. One day he had a vision, and he said," The white people come!" And the white people came, the country was destroyed by them. And he died, and was mourned; but before he died, he said, "Ah, the chieftainship shall be taken over by Ajalong after my death. But the man who kills me by his witchcraft, he too shall die after me." And he was mourned, and his sister fell under the dom pain.[2] And the man who had bewitched him, was struck by lightning, and died; for he had been cursed by the sorcerer. And all the people believed in him, saying, "Agwurstyep is a strong man indeed! "The medicine men were afraid, and so the village lived in a peaceful condition.[3]

70. Agok.

*539 *Jwɔk' chwɔla Agɔk, mɔ̀ɛ́ tɛ́ɛ́ jal yaŋ. Jal mɔ̀ŋ lɔ̀ɔ́n ajwɔ́ɔ́ŋ, ka ɲaná ywɔ́ŋ, ka ɲaná yɛ tɛ́ŋ́ ɲíé. Ka ɲì ryán kol, ka ɲì ko: ɟ, Agɔ́k, ɲaná a ŋɔ́. Kɔ́ɔ: e mɔ́n yí áŋ? Kɔ́ɔ: kúɟá. Chɔ́á ɲì! Ka ɲì chɔ́á; ka e ko: ánál, ɟaɟ́ɛ́ yín a ywɔ́ɔ ɲaná? Kɔ́ɔ: yaa! Kɔ́ɔ: kɛ́ɲaáŋ? Kɔ́ɔ: yè pánɛ́ yín! Kɔ́ɔ: kè, yí ka ryɔ́ɔ́ŋ, wɔt ŋɔ́ɔ, ajúé Ilok! yí re chɔ́á yí yɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ kí ɟè ŋɔ́ŋ? Yá ɟaáe yíá ɔa, aá lɔ́ɔ́k. Kɔ́ɔ, ɟ, de wɔ̀ ɲaa! Kɛ́, chɔ́l! A chɔ́ĺ kí ɟɔ́k dɔ́ɟ́k.*

Ka jal ɟaí e kɔ́ɟ́ɟ, ka lɛ́ ɡɔ́ɔ yí ɲwɔ́ɟ́ɟ. Ka jal ɟaí tɔ́k yí Agɔ́k, kɔ́ɔ: ánál, kɛ́ɛ jal yaɛ́ chíná! Ká à lɔ́ɔ́ɟ, chwɔla ɡɔ́ɔ a lɔ́k. Ka mwɔ́l ka e kɔ́ɟ́ɟ, ka ɟín ɟaí ɟwɔ́ɔ́ yí fwɔ́ɟ́ɟ. Gɛ́ ɡɔ́l ɲíé, ka bín ɲaɔ́k. Ka e kɔ́ɔ́ŋ kíno: ɟíɔ́k mɔ̀ŋ́ e ɡɔ́l yí fwɔ́ɟ́ɟ yí jal yaɛ́. E ko: dɔ́ɲɔ́ɔ́ɟ́ ɲyɔ́ɟí yán? Yí cha kɔ́ɲɛ́ kɔ́ɲɔ́ kɔ́ɔ: kɛ́ɛ, jal yaɛ́ a yíɔ́ ɲwɔ́ɟ́ɟ! Kɔ́ɔ: kɛ́ɛ! Kɔ́ɔ: yí re bɔ́á? Kɔ́ɔ: chwɔla ɡa lɔ́ka yaa! Kɔ́ɔ: ɛ, chɔ́á tɛ́ɛ́! A chɔ́á tɛ́ɛ́, a ɲɔ́ɔ́á kɔ́ɔ: jal yáɟ́, yín ryán áŋ ɟì? A tyɔ́k

[754] [1] They did not know the cause either, except the last, who found out the cause of the lamenting.
[756] [2] The "medicine men" are the "bad sorcerers", who try to kill people by their witchcraft. They are called here "*ja ryɔ́*" "men of medicine", as opposed to the *ajwɔ́ɔ́ŋ*, who is supposed to work for good. [3] *vide* Introduction.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

XV. SONGS.

104. War songs.

539* 533 721

A chíp tuś Ño, loś a chíp chíe Aćíyáq: Bul líṗáq! Yuna lóś Ńikuś; chą ya ḍíṗś ḍ líṗ; líṗś yóṅ ḅí ṅuṗ jaṗ; ríṗ a kṗí jaṗ. Wora ḍeíq kuom lóś! Yuna lóś Ńikuś! Loś a chíp chína kuáṗáṗ, ḅí Otíya tuś loś Ńuáṗáṗ. Ńikuś a ṗíṗś, kuna ṗíṗ Jaś.

The wings of the army are drawn up; the army is placed in the hands of *Aćíyáq*. Bul is strong. I am a servant of *Ńikuś*, I was nearly left desolate. I tell you the tidings of God; the king comes with God. The kings arose against the enemy's army. I am a servant of *Ńikuś*. The army is placed in the hands of our grandfather, in *Otíya*, as far as *Ńuáṗáṗ* war is raging.

Fíṅś ą loś́ ruṅe, ee Ńikuś? fíṅś ą ṗíṅ ḅí ṭíś!

Who shall inherit your village, you son of *Ńikuś*? Your village will be built by spears!

Woś ṗíṗą́ ṗíṗą́! Fu Ńikuś fo áś jíuś, kuáṗá á kṗíṅ, ḅí Wṗuokuor á kṗíṅ; kuáṗá fo tíṗṗ! ołuṗí a ḍíṗáṗ, ka íjáṗ lóś ṗíṅ, Aruaćíjíś, fo wíṗś Gṗáṗjuṗś, fo wíṗś Áłół! woś ṗíṗą́ ṗíṗą́, fo Ńikuś fo áś jíuś.

Let them carry (people) away! The house of *Ńikuś* will never be finished, my people refuse (to surrender), *Wṗuokuor* refuses; my people are not to be played with! One will always be left; and he will follow them (the enemies), *Aruaćíjíś*, from the village of the children of *Gṗíjuṗś*, the village of the children of *Áłół*. Let them carry away, the house of *Ńikuś* will never be finished.

Aṗḡṗjáś Aṅḡś-waśe, wą tuna ḍjárćś. A wuṗí, a wuṗí yą, ḍą kṗíś Fṗḡ. Mićki ríṗ fo ḍḡṗí ríṗ, wuaćhe ríṗ fo ḍḡṗí ry. Aláłś-Ńikuś, a kṗí juṗś. Muaćha yą fo ḍḡṗe ry.

Agugjang Anongwan is cursing the Turks, they are coming near, they are approaching on the way, they come up the mouth of the Sobat. But the fire of their guns will return on themselves, their fire will return on themselves; Akolo Nyakwo he comes (against them) with God. Their fire will return on themselves.

Yá fíṭ kyá fḷ, ye fíṭ kye fíd, Ńikuś, ye fíṭ kye fa, ye fíṭ kye fa, jal duṗś, ye fíṭ kye fṭ.

I am tired of being waylaid, I am tired of being watched upon, *Ńikuś*, I am tired of being waylaid, my master, I am tired of being waylaid.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

Kè di kyè Agwèt, wat Jìè, ya re (de) ŋàŋ gòng, yé yíŋò Kìnè Alèl, yé yíŋò yí kwòŋò, kyè Alèl, wòrè Wìr.

But for Agwèt, the son of Jìè, I should have left my country, and gone far away; I have been saved by the strength of Alèl, I have been saved by our grandfather, the powerful Alèl, the son of Wìr.

Nì Dìè, yí kwacha àŋ? Ya kwacha nìnò! Chè ya kyìŋ kwa, fòwa yán. Ya yíŋò yí kwat Ayòdò. Wadò Nò Dìè gòng pwòt kí tìò, tìnìn fa lìt wàkò.

You son of *Dìè*, what do you ask for? I ask for a hoe, for wherever I go I hoe the ground. I have been preserved by our grandfather *Ayòdò*. The mother of the son of *Dìè* has built us a house under the dolèb palms; the branches of the dolèb are like an army.[1]

Mìnè kyè Nolòŋò, ya nàtè, ya yòtò, wàno kyè Alwò, mwa Dìpè, ya nàtè yé yòtò.

By the dura-hour of *Nolòŋò* I walk, I am filled with it, by the hour of Alwò, the mother of *Dìpè*, I am walking, I am filled with it.

Alèl a dwòt mal; yé wìwa rè. Kì wìpè gwòrò, rèmè yíŋè nìnò. Dìè a nìwòŋò, nìwòŋò nìwòt Dìŋrè.

Alèl has returned. I live through him free from oppressors. The anxieties of my heart were many. But *Dìè* reared, he reared the white people away to *Dìŋrè*.

Mòŋò kí ŋyèrè, wòŋò kí ŋyèrè, ŋyìwa Dìè yè, wòŋò kí ŋyèŋò . . . .

Each one has his own fowl, each one has his own fowl, but all fowl belong to *Dìè*.

Ya rèŋè, rè! ŋwò gìn tìnè? Iwòtò! Tìŋrè ywòŋò mal. Iyòl a kìl yí chwòt. Kwòŋò fa tìè, ne Dìè a kyì jwòk. Nè yìl kwòtè kìt ìn, wa kyìn wìŋ tòè! Obwòt chòma yèkè yán. Tìŋrè kìn wàtè yàè ìn. Nàn a tìè yán? Yan a rèŋ lìnè. Kìnìyè, dyè kwòŋè, yí a nèkè kí ànn wàtè.

I am fleeing away, shouting loud! What is the matter? "The white people!" the people are shouting loud. "The dura is being carried away by the white people!" — But our grandfather is not absent. The son of *Dìè* is coming with God. Ye people, take your shields! We will go this way! The white people want to take away all our property. Other people have not been robbed by them! Who ever dared to take away my goods? I, the king of the people! Ye Arabs, turn back your hosts, fight another tribe!

[1] The rustling of the leaves of the dolèb palm is like the rustling of an army; so that when the enemy approaches the village, they imagine they hear an army, and flee.

17: Pumphrey G-S (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

CHAPTER II.
SOCIAL STRUCTURE.

INTRODUCTION.

Unlike their neighbours the Dinka and the Nuer the Shilluk have become entirely sedentary. They have a long river frontage in proportion to the population and there is therefore no necessity for an annual migration for summer grazing. In the summer the cattle are taken across to islands and the youths accompanying them build temporary cattle camps, but in no case is a village periodically entirely deserted.

Thus the Shilluk lack what for example the Dunjol Dinka living opposite them receive, namely an annual refresher course in clan organisation. The Dunjol Dinka village organisation disintegrates in the summer and the clans to a large extent reform for summer grazing. No such periodical reformation takes place with the Shilluk and consequently the clan organisation is more masked by the growth of territorial administrative units. Had the territorial unit, superimposed by years of the sedentary habit, obliterated completely the clan-organisation the administration of the tribe would be relatively simple. But Shilluk conservatism causes them to remain profoundly clan-conscious, and if to-day after some four hundred years of the sedentary state the tribe were for some reason to revert to nomadic habits there is no doubt that the clans would instantly reform.

The territorial system has evolved as the result of the grouping together of neighbouring hamlets, largely for purposes of defence against other groups, into what will be termed "settlements."

THE CLAN (KWAR).

Kwar (meaning literally "descendants"), followed by the name of the ancestor in question, is the Shilluk equivalent of clan. *Kwar* Okel designates all patrilineal descendants of Okel. Often the ancestor is mythical. There may be some hundred recognised clans in the tribe. But though every one knows to which clan he belongs, and although the clan entire continues to be an exogamous unit, it has ceased to possess for practical purposes any corporate unity. It

Leadership in war however, is, dependent upon the collective vote of the age-sets, and this perhaps provides a clue to the origin and former purpose of the settlement; namely the necessity of alliance under the threat of war. The local kinship group, split off from the main branch of the clan is not sufficiently powerful body to defend itself against attack. So lineage, resident in the same part of the country, join together and possibly link themselves to some numerically superior group. Mutual protection is thus made possible. The strongest lineage of the group later assumes political authority and a chief is chosen from its members, but for the purpose which the alliance was originally made, the warriors range themselves in ranks where kinship counts for nothing. A war-leader is elected and not necessarily from the dominant lineage. This is not, of course, the origin of the age-set system, but it may account for the form it has taken among the Shilluk.[1] Latterly, when large-scale warfare is comparatively rare, the original purpose of the alliance is disappearing and with it the motive for the age-set system. A period of proximity, common political and economic interests, however, have caused the separate lineages to regard themselves united by social ties and patterns of behaviour more lasting than those raised by a temporary alliance. The settlement thus becomes an integral unit of the social body.

1. The larger territorial divisions of the tribe, the *Leak*, which are described in Mr. Pumphrey's article, originated in the same way as the settlements. The inhabitants of each division made a temporary pact when a common cause arose. It is therefore likely that age-sets in the past covered a larger section of the population than they do to-day when each age-set is confined to the inhabitants of one settlement. The Shilluk are reticent when questioned on the subject and further investigation is necessary before a full account of the age-set system among the Shilluk can be recorded.